Workers of the World, Unite !

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'Emergency' Sets Stage For Drive Against Labor

DEC. 14 — Agreement to top war councils in Washington that President Truman should declare a national emergency gives warning that the war on the home front against labor will be pushed with increasing determination.

The additional basic power the national emergency proclamation would give Truman is, perhaps, control of the hours of work. The danger now facing American workers is that under cover of the "emergency" wages will be frozen or even rolled back, the work week increased and job regimentation instituted.

A wage freeze would necessarily mean the outlawing of the escalator clauses in contracts now covering over a million workers.

That the capitalist rulers have decided a national emergency declaration is necessary as a psychological weapon to prepare for an all-out drive against living and working standards is at the same time a recognition of the discontent and distrust in the minds of the majority of the people.

The disaster in Korea and the obvious floundering of the ruling circles in Washington have naturally undermined the confidence of the masses in the government.

Far from feeling that great additional sacrifices are necessary, there is plenty of evidence that the American people feel they already have sacrificed enough.

The popular demands that Truman's undeclared war be stopped now and that the U.S. get out of Asia collide head-on with the need of American imperialism to arm to the teeth, to rush total mobilization and prepare for World War III. While the capitalist class has no clear solution for the world crisis, it is determined to try to whip the people into line.

WHAT THEY FEAR

Despite the severity of the crisis Wall Street planners are as yet proceeding against the workers with caution. That's why they have hesitated up to now. That's why reports stress that it is not expected that the emergency declaration will be followed by drastic measures immediately. The first step may be "selective controls" as a preparatory move to push the country into an economy of bombs not butter. They fear, above all, the possible resistance of the organized workers.

This caution is well-advised. Their "shock treatment" may produce an effect just opposite to the one expected. The workers have not forgotten the results of that phony "equality of sacrifice" in World War II, which enriched the great corporations while it undermined the workers' standards.

Once the full effects of the real costs of war preparations are felt by the workers, it will take more than psychological blitzkriegs to quell their resistance.

High Court Ruling Voids Conviction In 'Contempt' Case

By a vote of 8 to 0 the Supreme Court ruled on Dec. 11 that witnesses before federal grand juries can, by pleading possible self-incrimination, refuse to answer questions about their connections with the Communist Party.

The ruling reversed the one-year jail sentence imposed on Mrs. Patricia Blau by a federal judge in Denver two years ago. Its effect will be to protect other witnesses before federal grand juries who claim the right to be silent under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which provides that "no person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself."

It was not clear, however, whether this decision applies to witnesses appearing before witch-hunting bodies like the House Un-American Committee, which has sent scores to prison on "contempt" charges.

The ruling was a setback for the witch-hunters, but some of its implications may not turn out favorably for the cause of civil rights. Mrs. Blau had contended that answering the questions put to her might make her liable to prosecution under the Smith Act. By upholding this contention, the N. Y. Times gloated editorially, "the Court quite clearly implies the view that the Smith Act itself is constitutional."

Demand Rises: 'Bring Troops Back to U.S.!'

Save Our Sons -- . Forget 'Prestige,' Mothers Petition

AKRON, Dec. 11 — More than 100 mothers of GI's in Korea have signed a petition to President Truman, pleading for him to withdraw all troops from Korea. The idea is reported to be spreading from Akron to other communities.

The petition was drawn up by Mrs. Richard Abicht, mother of two and sister-in-law of a 17-year old Marine in the 1st Division. After the newspapers announced it, she was flooded with telephone calls of support from wives and relatives of men in the service. "We haven't had a single call of protest against the petition," she added.

Mrs. Abicht's petition reminds Truman he was elected by people who thought he was the "right man" but "all of us have been let down completely."

"They take our boys to fight and die in a land unbeknown to the majority of the people until it was invaded. . . They battled their way to the 38th parallel, which to our boys meant 'home again.' But, no. They had to fight on — objective the Manchurian border. And why?

"Next the Chinese. . . It develops now into a battle where young men must fight, die and suffer the pangs of Hell.

"You say we will lose our prestige if we back out now.

"Mr. Truman, just what is prestige compared to a life given us by God?"

The petition pleads for the withdrawal of the GI's, and then "reinforcement" of the U.S. and Germany "as fast as possible and in the best possible way." Mrs. Abicht expressed the hope that nobody will think she and her friends are "reds or Commie sympathizers simply because we want our boys home."

Many Are Now Questioning Truman's Undeclared War

An Associated Press dispatch on Dec. 11 described how General MacArthur called newsmen into a small office at an airport after his visit to Korea and dictated his statement pronouncing that the U.S.-UN force in Korea "for the time being is relatively safe." The office was "immediately ringed by curious Marines, sailors and GIs peering through the window." When MacArthur hurried away, they flocked around the correspondents, and one Marine asked:

"I came in late, but did he say when I could go home?"

That was the big question everywhere, not only among the troops in Asia but among their relatives and friends at home. The news of GIs being evacuated from North Korea is welcomed everywhere, but the demands and pleas of individuals and groups in many different states are for withdrawal from all of Korea, and not from just North Korea.

The capitalist press gave little publicity to the growing numbers of petitions and letters being spontaneously drafted and circulated by men and women worried by the fate of their relatives and friends in uniform. The petition of Mrs. Richard Abicht, Akron housewife who urged Truman to bring the troops home regardless of the effects it would have on "prestige" was only one of a great many similar pleas expressing the true wishes of the American people.

"IN ONE PIECE"

In North Carolina, an auto repair shop owner named John Hyder got up a petition asking that the troops be gotten out of Korea at once so that they could be "brought back in one piece instead of in a box." Three hundred people in Henderson County signed the petition, which was sent to the Congressman from that district, and 200 telephoned Hyder to express sympathy for the proposal.

Evidence is accumulating that many Americans, shocked by the sudden turn of events on the military front, were reconsidering the entire Korean adventure.

In Bellaire, O., the daily Times Leader printed an editorial: "A lot of people have claimed we never had any business in Korea in the first place. . . As a matter of fact, we are in Korea engaged in a war declared by one man only — Harry Truman — and one that wasn't even sanctioned at the start by the United Nations, for Mr. Truman first ordered the attack and then got the UN to approve it."

The weekly New Egypt (N. J.) Press asked, "where is there any law which makes it right to take your boy (many times against his will) and make him fight on foreign soil, when there is no declared war."

"UNPOPULAR WAR NOW"

Many letters and telegrams of bitter protest have been pouring into Capitol Hill, reports Washington columnist Paul Leech, who has looked at many of these communications and talked with the Congressmen who got them. Leech's conclusion is that "The Korean war is an unpopular war now."

Rep. Jesse Wolcott (R., Mich.) told Leech that at the beginning of World War II his office was besieged by mail, phone calls and visits from young men who had been turned down by their draft boards and wanted his help in getting into the armed forces. "Today it is just the reverse," he said. "They want me to get them out of the draft or reserve or National Guard calls."

The silence of the top union officials is one of the most disgraceful failures of leadership in modern labor history. But even without them the American people are showing that they didn't want this war in the first place, and they want it stopped now.

Truman, Attlee Fail on Dispute Of U.S.-Europe

By John G. Wright

In the annals of imperialist diplomacy the six talks between Truman and Attlee (Dec. 4-8) and the final communique they issued are in many important respects without parallel. These secret conferences, like the communique, were marked not so much by agreements, alleged or real, as by disagreements, exceedingly sharp in many instances.

This, needless to say, is the hallmark of all secret diplomacy. But the whole point is that this time the disagreements instead of being suppressed, as is customary, have been partially aired, which happens to be the rarest of rarities in this field.

The repeated stress on "complete agreement," "unity of objectives" and the like in the Dec. 8 communique is a diplomatic way of saying that in relation to Western Europe, especially the new arms program, Truman and Attlee were able at least to preserve a semblance of harmony, despite their differences. But just the opposite is true in relation to the Far East, particularly China.

MAIN DISAGREEMENTS

Here the disagreements come to the fore. The two issues singled out are: Recognition of the Mao government and the disposition of Formosa. Washington continues to refuse to deal with Peiping as an "equal" (meaning, admit it to the UN) and states so flatly; and it is equally reluctant to return Formosa to China, covering this up by a "willingness" to have the matter "considered by the UN."

On a third issue prominently before world public opinion — the use of the A-Bomb — Attlee

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MAO BIDS TO NEGOTIATE AS WASHINGTON STALLS

DEC. 13 — Doubts concerning the readiness of Mao Tse-tung's government to halt hostilities in Korea and negotiate a peaceful settlement in Asia were dispelled last week when Sir Benegal Rau of India vouched for this before the UN Assembly. Sir Benegal, on the instructions and with the backing of Premier Nehru, has been serving as a diplomatic go-between in the "private talks" with Peiping's representatives at Lake Success.

Two conditions have been laid down by Mao: "That there be equality at the conference table and discussion of all major Far Eastern problems." (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Dec. 9.) No government really seeking peace could object to this. Peiping has at least as much right as, for instance, Washington to have an equal say in any negotiations involving China's vital interests.

This justifiable proposal, however, is something Wall Street's diplomats are still unable to discuss without choking with rage. The reason? If they recognize China's equality at any conference table, then forever gone is their threadbare pretext that Chiang Kai-shek's spectral regime is the sole "legal" representative of half a billion insurgent people. Fabled King Canute who ordered the seas swept back with a broom was a man of modest aims compared to Wall Street's arrogant statesmen who seek with a creature like Chiang to sweep away the conquests of the upheaval in China and in all of today's Asia.

Mao's second condition flows from China's rightful insistence on equality and is inextricably linked with it. Who has a prior right to discuss "all major Far Eastern problems" if not the largest nation in Asia? Actually Peiping is not so much concerned with "all major" Asian problems as with the single issue of Formosa. And here Washington's diplomats are hopelessly entangled.

They had agreed to "award" Formosa to China both at Cairo and at Potsdam. They pledged to withdraw the 7th Fleet once their Korean "police action" had been resolved. The Korea question is being resolved, even if in an unforeseen way. And now no way remains of "peacefully" clinging to Formosa except by clinging to the obscene fiction of Chiang Kai-shek.

When Ambassador Austin rose to break a week's silence in the UN, he began by addressing to Peiping a question: Shall there be peace or war in Asia? The address is dead wrong. The whole world knows that the fateful answer to this question still rests with Washington.

Truman's Powers Produce a Prayer

The Rev. William H. Alderson of the First Methodist Church in Bridgeport, Conn., delivered a special prayer at Sunday services. Basing himself on Truman's announcement that he alone had the power to order use of the A-Bomb and on Truman's letter to the music critic who didn't think much of Margaret Truman's singing, he prayed:

"Deliver us from the danger to our world from a short-tempered man with an atom bomb in his hands."

Karl Kuehn Dies; Was One Of Minneapolis Trial Victims

By Max Geldman

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 11 — A brave, loyal and talented comrade is lost to the socialist movement. Karl Kuehn is dead. At the age of 56, he died Sunday night of a stroke in the hospital to which he had been rushed after collapsing on his job. The Socialist Workers Party, his family, and many, many friends throughout the country mourn his death.

Karl's devotion to the working class movement stemmed from his own bitter experiences with the social system in which he lived. He was born in St. Paul, Minn., in 1894. He came to socialism as a result of the depression that began in 1929. A skilled mechanic and an able salesman, he found his talents unwanted, and like millions of others was forced to depend upon public relief to maintain himself and his family.

ACTIVE, CREATIVE LIFE

He was not the type to close his eyes to the misery and poverty around him, and he was able to see that his own plight was but a part of the crisis of the capitalist system. Thus he was able to find the road to an active and creative life. He associated himself with the dynamic labor movement led by the Minneapolis Trotskyists. From then on, he never wavered. He was a thorn in the side of all who sought to oppress the workers, a friend of all who were in need.

As secretary of the fighting Federal Workers Section of the General Drivers Union, Local 544, the unemployed organization of the area, Karl Kuehn distinguished himself by his efforts to improve the lot of his fellow workers. In every demonstration, in every strike, in every grievance, he was foremost, selfless, fearless. In 1934 he was the representative of the organized unemployed in the famous Minneapolis teamsters strike. The Kuehn family was a working class fortress in Minneapolis, a center of the struggle to maintain solidarity in the face of the enemy.

The police, the Board of Public Welfare authorities, the employ-

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KARL KUEHN

What Imperialists Were Really Unprepared For

An Editorial

We're hearing a lot now, and we'll be hearing a lot more later on, about how "unprepared" this country was for the crisis in Korea.

The purpose of these complaints and recriminations is, of course, to justify the appropriation of additional tens of billions of dollars for armaments that will have to be paid for by the sweat, toil and deprivation of American working people.

But those who are screaming "we were not prepared" are not telling the whole truth. That is, they are telling a lie.

Between V-J Day and the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, Washington spent almost 100 billion dollars arming itself, its European allies and the despots for whom it has a peculiar affinity in Asia. No other country in the world spent as much on war preparations in that period.

In the space of a few weeks the U.S. government was able to land a large-sized army, better equipped and supplied technologically than any other in the world, in a country 7,000 miles from American shores. No other country in the world could equal that in the same period of time.

The really amazing thing about this operation was that militarily the U.S. government was able to do so much so fast in Korea, considering its previous claims that the only policy it was pursuing was a "policy of peace."

It's just not true that Washington was "unprepared" unless by this term is meant the inability to take on half of the world and lick it; and in that sense it may never be "fully prepared," no matter how much it spends.

However, there was something that the political and military brass hats running this country really were not prepared for. And that was the consequences of the colonial and anti-imperialist revolution that has swept over Asia.

The brass hats — and MacArthur was not alone in this — suffered from the delusion that all they had to do was act tough and the Asians would turn tail and run. But the Asians are not running; the colonial slaves of yesterday refuse to remain slaves any longer.

Fired with the conviction that the peoples of Asia have the right to determine their own fate, they have given convincing proof of their readiness and ability to fight bravely and well for freedom from Chiang Kai-shek and his imperialist masters.

It is the upsurge of these peoples rebelling against the exploitation and degradation of centuries that the brass hats were unprepared for. It is an upsurge that we firmly believe it is to the interests of the American people to meet with sympathy and not hostility.

But even if the politicians who are hostile to revolutionary China remain in power and continue their hostile policy toward it, there is good reason to doubt that they can marshall the resources to achieve a degree of "preparedness" that would enable them to subdue most of Asia.

If they try it, American youth will be slaughtered in countless numbers and the American economy will be bankrupted beyond repair. And for what? Win, lose or draw, the American people will have nothing to gain from the effort. That is why they should demand that U.S. troops be taken out of Korea, and kept out.

Ellenton, S.C.--Preview of All U.S.

By Albert Parker

"It is hard to understand why our town must be destroyed to make a bomb that will destroy someone else's town that they love as much as we love ours."

That is part of the sign on the outskirts of the small town of Ellenton, one of the six communities near the Savannah River in South Carolina which are going to be wiped off the map to make way for the site of a secret plant manufacturing materials for the dreaded H-Bomb.

UP correspondent Louis Cassels, who was born in "the condemned area," says that "The great majority of the 7,000 people who must leave are Negro farm hands, sharecroppers and hourly-wage workers in Ellenton's only industry, the veneer mill of the Leigh Banana Case Co. Along with hundreds of white tenant farmers, they are desperately poor by any standard. For many of them, to miss a single payday is to bring on actual hunger for a large family."

"They are shocked, confused, frightened of the future and sad," Cassels reports. "Most of them have no idea where they are going or how they will make a living.

"And even if they knew, they would still be miserable. Human roots grow deep in this soil, and no one wants to leave it.

"THE WOMEN CRY"

"They are trying hard to take it with a smile. They make grim jokes about being 'bombed out before the war starts,' and describe themselves as 'the first DP's of World War III.'

"But the brave front is for the outsiders. . . When the outsiders aren't looking, the stiff upper lips begin to tremble a little. The women cry when they meet. . ."

Yes, it must be hard for these people to understand why their homes must be wiped out in order to make weapons of destruction that will wipe out the homes of other people like themselves in some other part of the world. And it is easy to believe that, even apart from their concern about how they are going to live, they are shocked, confused, frightened of the future and sad.

But this pitiful incident has an importance that transcends the fate of the 7,000 DP's in South Carolina. It is a tiny symptom and a sort of preview of the gigantic transformation that the capitalist class plans to make of the United States as a whole.

The old America that we knew is going out, and in the next period the changes will be coming faster and more furiously. This country is becoming a garrison state, with all of life geared for war. The consequences of this change will not be as sudden as those at Ellenton, but they will be much more far-reaching and devastating.

TREMENDOUS CHANGES

If the capitalist politicians and brass hats in Washington have their way, everything will be subordinated to the needs of the war machine (everything but the profits of Big Business). The youth will be drafted into uniform, their elders will be drafted at their jobs, collective bargaining will be strangled in the grip of government wage-freezing boards, eventually no one will be able to choose the kind of job he wants

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GERMANY, BELGIUM, JAPAN ALL SHOW OPPOSITION TO REARMAMENT PLANS

By Charles Hanley

The Western powers have at last agreed on the question of German rearmament — without ever bothering to ask the German people's opinion on the subject. The U.S. State Department expressed the wish that a formula be worked out for a "European Army" which would then be placed under an "Atlantic," i.e., American high command. The French government consented to the inclusion of German regimental combat teams in the "Atlantic defense force" after previously objecting to any re-militarization of Germany.

As **The Militant** has reported time and again, the German masses oppose rearmament. They do not want a new Wehrmacht! Even in Bavaria, traditionally the most reactionary and Catholic part of Germany, the recent state elections resulted in a Social Democratic victory, because the Social Democrats campaigned on a platform of opposition to Chancellor Adenauer's rearmament projects.

Never before have we seen a people rearmed against its own will by foreign occupiers. Yet this is what is now planned for the Germans, not to mention the Japanese.

The Adenauer government, representing the German bourgeoisie, does not want German units to be used by the imperialists as a kind of foreign legion. It wants armed forces in division strength at least, with their own German-officered divisional staffs. This would permit the German bourgeoisie to control their military forces, while such control is excluded if German formations are made part of mixed "European" divisions with non-German staffs. Hence, Adenauer's refusal to even discuss the remilitarization plan approved by the French, and his insistence on a different set-up.

The revolutionary Marxist weekly of Germany's independent Socialists, **Freie Tribune**, calls for a referendum to "let the German people decide for themselves" on the rearmament issue. This would indeed show the entire world how opposed the German people are to re-militarization.

But Adenauer's Christian Democrats, their American overlords, and even the Social Democratic bureaucrats reject such a referendum. They do not want the masses to have the decisive say in this matter: Cooking up secret deals with the imperialists — that is their brand of democracy.

Opposition to Washington-ordered armament plans is not limited to Germany. In Belgium, for instance, the Socialist Party opposes the two years' military service which the all-Catholic government of Premier Pholien wishes to establish, and questions the need for enormous increases in military appropriations. They claim the army, if properly reorganized, could be as efficient without these measures.

They agree with the Atlantic Pact policy but criticize certain aspects of the government's conduct of foreign affairs, becoming suddenly afraid of too complete subservience to Washington's directives. This rather inconsistent attitude of the SP leaders is a distorted expression of the strong popular opposition to militarism and war which they have to take into account, especially since the China-Korea events. There now exists a left-centrist current among the Belgian SP's rank and file, urging the leaders toward a bolder policy of opposition on military and social questions. The Socialist Youth is waging a campaign against the two-years service.

NOT AN EASY TASK

It is not an easy task for the imperialists to mobilize the West for World War III!

And when Washington and MacArthur's headquarters hinted that for the Far East a new Japanese defense or "security" force would be welcome, Japan's Prime Minister Yoshida replied that the existing police was sufficient to handle domestic security, and that Japan would remain loyal to her new constitution which bars any rearmament.

The imperialists have the blueprints ready; but it is clear that the people of Western Europe and Japan are reluctant to die at Wall Street's beck and call and for its sordid interests.

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 7

Freedom of Speech and Research

By Ernest Germain

On Aug. 22, 1950, a curious story appeared in Knjizevne Novine, the weekly publication of the Yugoslav writers' union. It was called "Jereticka Prica" (Heretical Short Story) and was written by Branko Copic, the most famous modern poet of Yugoslavia, well-known and loved by hundreds of thousands because he is incidentally also a prolific author of children's books. "Jereticka Prica" was a very sharp satirical attack on the habits of some government and army officials and their families. The fictitious persons in the short story — Minister Jovanovic, General Navala and so on—are transparent disguises for living officials whom all of Belgrade immediately recognized. With biting irony, Copic sketched the portrait of these bureaucrats, their snobbery, their petty ambitions and intrigues, the privileges they enjoy compared to the common people, the superior attitude displayed by them toward the workers.

This story created a tremendous sensation in Belgrade and all over Yugoslavia. It put its finger on a sore spot. In the words of a leading Yugoslav journalist: "We are fighting against bureaucratism with all our strength, but everybody sees the bureaucrat only in somebody else." And then after a pause. "And so do I. . ." Copic singled out real bureaucrats and brought into the open attitudes and behavior about which thousands of Yugoslav party and non-party workers had been actually complaining for a long time.

SHARP DISPUTE

Copic's story, however, was only a one week's sensation. The following week **Knjizevne Novine** carried an article by a well-known critic, Skender Kulenovic, entitled "Istina I Sloboda" (Truth and Freedom). This article was a sharp attack on Copic's short story. Although some of Kulenovic's arguments were correct, the tone and style of his article were detestable. "That piece could have appeared in the **Literaturnaya Gazetta**" (the Stalinist literary publication in the Soviet Union), one Yugoslav writer told a friend of ours. "It is a typical case of Stalinist hangovers," said another. The phrase "a person still has many Stalinist hangovers" is commonly used by the Yugoslav vanguard to characterize people who have not consciously assimilated the "new course." And so a heated and general discussion ensued all over Belgrade and Yugoslavia around these two articles.

The high functionaries, the writers and artists, the editorial board of Knjizevne Novine, party members and party functionaries, workers councils, yes, simple non-party workers in the streets — everybody lined up either with Copic or with Kulenovich, and did so with the passionate interest prevalent in Yugoslavia in anything which captures public attention. When one of the members of a foreign delegation, visiting Belgrade, went to buy the Aug. 29 issue of Knjizevne Novine accompanied by a Yugoslav friend, the woman in charge of the newspaper stand started arguing about "that dirty attack on our Copic in this week's paper." And at the Writers' Club in Belgrade, members of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau of the CPY lined up in "two camps" and discussed the political and literary qualities and defects of both pieces until early hours of the morning.

This debate then came into the open, with Copic writing a series of new stories in the same vein, and several writers and political figures answering him, first in **Knjizevnie Novine**, then in **Borba**. The last of Copic's articles, in which he credited "an artist" (meaning himself) with having initiated the movement toward the suppression of all privileges, was considered as exaggerated even by his own friends. But it drew an extremely sharp attack in an Oct. 10 editorial of **Borba** ("Branko Copic's Heroism"). This editorial was unsigned and therefore taken to come straight from the Central Committee itself, which caused the controversy to flare up all over again.

The **Borba** editorial accused Copic in so many words of being an "agent of reaction and the Cominform." Critics of the CPY exulted: there you have Stalinism all over again. The next day, however, Tito, while also criticizing the form of Copic's attacks on the party line, denied that any disciplinary measure would be taken against Copic who is a member of the CP. For the first time, discussions took place on this subject, inside party units, with party members openly voicing their disagreements with the line of the Central Committee.

This whole affair merits so much attention because it characterizes the present situation in Yugoslavia with regard to freedom of discussion. To be sure, we do not yet have a workers' democracy in the same sense as existed in Soviet Russia in 1917, 1918, and 1919, with several legal working class parties, with open factions inside the ruling party, with sharp public controversies about burning day-to-day problems of party and government policy. But we also have little of the hypocritical and stifling atmosphere of Stalinist Russia, where the only purpose and aspiration of a writer, a journalist or a party leader is to try to guess the opinions and tastes of the Vozhd (the Leader) or the Central Committee.

A tremendous transformation has occurred in Yugoslavia as compared with the situation two years ago. Even the most reactionary opponents of the regime inside the country have to admit that. It is necessary to consider the situation, therefore, not statically, but dynamically: Where do they come from, where are they going? Nobody can deny that the actual amount of freedom of discussion and opinion is increasing at present by leaps and bounds, from month to month. This in itself is a thousand times more important than the many Stalinist hangovers which, quite evidently, still remain as "blotches" on the physiognomy of the Yugoslav dictatorship of the proletariat.

POLEMICS IN PRESS

The character of the press itself has radically altered. Two years ago, the press was dull and uniform — more like the Soviet press perhaps than any other in Europe. Today it is lively, full of controversy and humor, with sharp attacks against public figures and institutions, with polemics between one paper and another, or between one writer and another, as the example of **Knjizevne Novine** shows. Of course, these controversies do not revolve around the person of Tito or around some basic issue of policy; we are still a long way from that.

But the housing policy of the Croatian government, for instance, was sharply attacked in the daily **Vestnik**, this summer. A polemic was started on that subject with another paper, **Napred**, and lasted many weeks. The daily papers today print many articles and letters from readers, some of them containing sharp criticism of specific aspects of the government's policy. Foreign papers of all shades — from **l'Humanite** and the **Daily Worker** to the **Christian Science Monitor** — are available in Yugoslavia, in small quantities it is true, owing in the first place to currency difficulties, but with enough of them to be read by all those who are interested. (The foreign press reading rooms are always full of people, and nobody seems afraid to obtain and read any foreign paper he likes.)

The Belgrade students were very proud to show a foreign delegation the latest issue of some fancy Soviet magazine, full of cartoons attacking Tito in the most brutal way. "You see," they said, "our government lets us read whatever is printed. We are not afraid of adverse arguments. In our country there will be no books burned as in Bulgaria." Even on so vital an issue as the Korean war, papers were able to express opinions different from those of the center — a pro-American line in the weeklies **Republika** and **Sjelo**, a pro-North Korean line in some CP papers on the Dalmatian coast — with out any commotion or repressions.

The drastic removal of all "party line on cultural matters," which took place some time ago, constituted a very sharp turn in Yugoslav policy, and was greeted with a sigh of relief by artists, writers and scientists in all fields. The Belgrade essayist, Vinaver, took the floor at the last writers' union congress, and turning toward the platform, exclaimed: "The cultural policy of the CPY has been wrong all this time, up to the latest turn. I may say this now openly, and you, comrades on the platform, know this and can't prevent me from saying so." They certainly couldn't. And let us add: They wouldn't try! For the strange thing today in Yugoslavia is that there is still much less public criticism than the leaders of the CPY would like to have.

At the steel plant of **Jesenica**, a technician, member of the local People's Committee, told a foreign delegation how happy the party leaders had been because some days ago at a general assembly convened to discuss the question of the new State Loan, 25 workers took the floor, one after another, in order to criticize the local conditions, and stated why they couldn't or wouldn't subscribe to the loan until these conditions were changed. "At last they have begun to speak up again. We have been waiting a long time to hear them talk freely like that," the official said.

A long time indeed, for the workers needed time to gain confidence in the "new course." They do not yet believe that they may really speak their minds openly and freely without being victimized in one way or another. They have to slowly acquire the conviction that there has been a radical change in the attitude of the CPY toward criticism, but when and where they acquire that conviction it rushes in like a gust of fresh air in a musty room. This is the Yugoslavia of today.

"POPE" ZOGOVICH

Even before 1949 a muffled struggle had taken place inside the CPY between those who wanted to direct all cultural activities by "directives" and those who were ready to allow more freedom to intellectuals, writers, journalists, artists and scientists. Is it an accident that the man who was considered the "culture pope" of Yugoslavia, Radovan Zogovich, took a pro-Stalinist and pro-Cominformist stand?

Everywhere in Yugoslavia, members of foreign brigades and delegations heard journalists and writers bitterly complain about the way Zogovich had obstructed their activity up to 1949. At the Fifth Congress of the CPY in 1948 he was elected to the CC. In 1949 he was expelled from the party for his underground relations with the Kremlin. Although Stalinist propagandists trying to convert him into a hero have announced his violent death many times, he is still living quietly in a Belgrade apartment, and can be seen by anyone who wishes.

The revolutionary implications of this wave of freedom sweeping ever more widely over all spheres of activity inside Yugoslavia wouldn't have been possible without a social transformation of the character of the intellingentsia. Whereas in the Soviet Union one of the important hallmarks of the victory of the bureaucracy was this, that first in practice and later by law, higher education was restricted to the sons of the "upper layers," the Yugoslav university system is becoming more and more democratic, in structure as well as in substance. University education is completely free. Besides, at the Belgrade University 60% of the students receive scholarships in order not to become a burden on their working class families. 65% of all Yugoslav students receive scholarships and in Macedonia this percentage is as high as 80%.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Scholarships vary from 2,000 to 3,000 dinars, i.e., a little under the wage of an unskilled worker. Married students receive special supplements. Living at the special University City, a student pays only 1,300 dinars a month for food and lodging, leaving him a balance to buy whatever he likes. Books are very cheap, among the cheapest items in Yugoslavia and students get them even cheaper. This year 25% of all students were given special vacations, at a cost of only 1,000 dinars a month. And all those who went were chosen by student committees themselves, with the university authorities intervening little or not at all in these decisions.

"Our self-government is nearly complete," a Belgrade student leader told a foreign delegation. Workers' sons and daughters are therefore flocking by the thousands into the universities, while their parents are being trained for the technical sides of management and of administrative functions. Recently, the Yugoslav government placed the administration of elementary schools under the control of parents' committees. It is sufficient to see the free and uncoereced behavior of Yugoslav youth to understand what a gulf separates that country from Stalinist totatilarianism.

(Next week: The Solution of the National Question.)

Chinese Charge U.S. Aggression

Wu Hsiu-chuan (l.), representing the Chinese People's Republic, is shown making his initial address to the UN Security Council meeting, in which he charged that the U.S. was the aggressor in Formosa and Korea. The Council, with India not voting, rejected the accusation by a vote of 9 to 1.

The Grim Future They Offer American Youth

By Daniel Roberts

The generation that was born and entered school during the depression years and then saw its older brothers and sisters march off to World War II has now come of age. Last week several authoritative spokesmen for the American ruling class undertook to sketch out what prospects they have in store for this new generation of youth.

The prospect for their adult years is scarcely to be cheerier than the one surrounding the years of their childhood or adolescence.

Spokesman after authoritative spokesman has declared that militarization under the dictatorial rule of America's brass hats is to be the lot of today's youth. What these capitalist masters of destiny envisage is a perpetual state of alarm in which the youth must undergo years of barracks training alternating with a tenuous civilian existence that may be cancelled at a moment's notice. That, they proclaim, is the best prospect American capitalism holds in store for the young men and women of the nation.

Speaking at an "orientation meeting" on Dec. 5, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University, explained to 600 Columbia freshmen what Wall Street has to offer them:

"MOST OF YOUR LIFE"

"It is nothing but a dream to think you are going to live in a carefree world where everything will be all right," he said. **"At the very, very best, gentlemen, most of your life is going to be lived in a period of tension."**

Next day, speaking in his capacity as General of the Army, Eisenhower discussed the same prospect in an address to more than 20,000 troops in training. He told them that it might be necessary to put "all of our young men back in uniform," and urged the troops to "demand that their training be as tough as it can be made."

Addressing the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth, a gathering attended by 6,000 delegates representing schools and PTA bodies, President Truman said:

"We are now engaged in a great program of rearmament. This will change the lives of our young people. A great many of them will have to devote some part of their lives to service in our armed forces or other defense activities."

He then went on to attack unnamed dictatorships whose characteristic, he thundered, was to turn children into slaves of the state. But wherein the superiority of his own program consisted, designed as it is to place our young men and women in bondage to brass hats, Truman did not say.

The Association of American Universities met last week, and it, too, delivered the same message to the youth. The assembled university presidents favor a twenty-seven months' period of mandatory military training "at a nominal rate of pay." They passed a resolution calling for compulsory military training of youths at the age of 18. "The international situation," declared this resolution, **"presages an extended period of high level tension for the next decade or more. . ."**

Not satisfied with dragooning all the young men into the military establishments, they want to make sure that ways and means are worked out to herd all young women into barracks-life as well.

These plans to militarize the nation and its youth go hand in hand with successive blows delivered against the American people's rights of free speech, civil rights generally, and attacks upon their living standards. Taken together they spell out a military-police dictatorship.

In their childhood and adolescence today's youth experienced the destructive bankruptcy of "free enterprise" in the peacetime decade of the Great Depression. Capitalism is now bent on demonstrating — for decades if need be — to them, and the American people as a whole, the full destructive and self-destroying powers of their bankrupt system.

American Labor Leaders

If you are interested in improving the quality of leadership in the American labor movement, you will find the November-December issue of **Fourth International** of unusual value. Through absorbing case studies, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism puts the spotlight on four outstanding types of American labor leaders, explaining their origin, what they represent and how dangerous some of their policies are. From this, the editors draw general conclusions about the new type of leadership now needed to guide labor in the difficult times facing us.

1. John L. Lewis by Harry Frankel. "John L. Lewis occupies a unique position in the labor movement today," Harry Frankel begins. "Leader of a bare three percent of the numerical strength of the American unions, he is the unchallenged pioneer in new developments in the industrial struggle. Autocrat supreme, he sits at the top of a bureaucratic machine of the traditional repressive type, yet his words and actions more closely represent the moods and interests of the mass of American workers than those of leaders in far more democratic unions. Isolated and scorned by the whole 'official' labor movement, he everywhere enjoys the highest esteem of the union ranks. Government, industrialists, newspapers, politicians of both major parties, and other 'labor leaders' conspire against him and his union, which nevertheless remains more powerful than ever before."

How explain these "mysteries"? Harry Frankel uses the Marxist method to find the correct solution.

2. Philip Murray by V. Grey. "I think I am a man. I think I have convictions. I think I have a soul, a heart and a mind." This opinion of himself was expressed by Philip Murray when he became candidate for the presidency of the CIO. V. Grey has a less laudatory opinion of the head of the CIO: "In an age when history chooses to place a mediocrity like Harry Truman at the head of the mightiest capitalist power in the world, who can quarrel with her for elevating an equally dull mediocrity to the leadership of the mightiest section of the working class in America?"

How this colorless capitalist agent became entrenched at the head of the CIO "with the blessings of the priests" becomes a colorful, absorbing study in the hands of V. Grey. You'll enjoy it.

3. Walter Reuther by Art Preis. When commentators speculate on who is most likely to fall heir to Philip Murray's crown, the name of Walter Reuther often heads the list. "Smart" and "shrewd," they call him. But just how much does he really have on the ball?

"He has been shaped by powerful social forces, pressures and conflicts, particularly as these have affected and been reflected in the development of the UAW," says Art Preis. To understand Reuther "it is essential to understand the kind of union in which he grew up and on whose mighty shoulders he now stands."

A participant in the early decisive struggles that shaped the CIO United Automobile Workers, Art Preis is unusually well-equipped to paint an accurate portrait of the ambitious crown prince of the CIO.

4. Dave Beck by Dan Roberts. A sinister figure has arisen in the labor movement of the Northwest. "Unions are big business," says Dave Beck, and he means it. This ruthless robber baron of labor dreams of becoming Czar of the entire American labor movement, mainly through "cannibal unionism." "In alliance with Lundeberg and Ryan and lesser lights he started raiding AFL, CIO and independents alike," Dan Roberts points out, "taking special advantage of strike situations in order to move in, in collusion with the employers behind the strikers' picket lines. As his raiding operations grow, so does his immediate dependence upon the employers. 'For every enemy I have made in the labor movement,' he recently declared, 'I have made a hundred friends in the Chamber of Commerce'."

How can labor meet this threat from the "king of the cannibals"? Roberts reports the growing concern over Beckism and suggests ways and means of converting this concern into an effective anti-Beck movement.

For a copy of this issue devoted to "American Labor Leaders," send 25c. to Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

CHICAGO

New Year's Eve Affair

Sunday night, Dec. 31
9 P. M.

Sholem Aleichem Hall
5558 South Ellis Avenue

Donation $1.00

Entertainment -- Refreshments

Auspices: S.W.P.

THE MILITANT ARMY

The **New York Local** of the Socialist Workers Party followed up its successful street sales of

the "STOP THE WAR NOW!" issue of **The Militant** last week with door-to-door sales of the next issue at workers' housing projects.

Once more **Militant** sales people found a gratifying response to the strong anti-war message of America's leading socialist weekly. The headline, "WHEN ARE WE GETTING OUT OF KOREA?" GI'S ASK, proved attractive. A total of 210 copies were sold in one hour, 184 of them in a single project.

The reactions of the workers varied from door to door, reflecting the fluidity of public opinion on the war. The pro-war sentiment that existed only a few short weeks ago is definitely lessening, though in a confused and uneven manner. Thus it was not uncommon for representatives of **The Militant** to be rebuffed by one tenant with some sharp comment, and find the next door neighbor sympathetic to the anti-war slogans of **The Militant.**

Lucille V. led the field by a wide margin this week with a score of 44 sales. **Harold R.** took second place with 17. **Karolyn** and **Inez** sold 13 each, followed closely by **Anne M.** with 12 and **Frank M.** and **Zeb B.** with 11 each.

* * *

Literature Agent **Frank Roberts** of **Chicago** reports that the "STOP THE WAR NOW!" issue is still in demand and ordered 150 more copies. Although we ordered extra copies of this issue from the printer, Chicago's order cleans us out. Collectors of rare issues of **The Militant** please note.

Frank mentions that **George** and **Hayden** "did a tremendous job with **The Militant** while some of the comrades attended the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, selling in the coldest weather we have had this year."

* * *

The **Newark** comrades are "gratified at the response from many former readers who are again interested in reading **The Militant** regularly," **Dorothy B.** writes. For the past six weeks friendly visits to these readers have been made by the Newark subgetters. They discovered that some had failed to renew because they were temporarily hard pressed financially. Others just hadn't got around to filling out that renewal blank. "Tho the results may seem slow, we feel the response warrants our continuing this work until all our former subscribers have been visited." To judge from the number of renewals, our former readers appreciate the visits from the Newark representatives of **The Militant.**

* * *

Paul S. of **San Francisco** asked us to change his address and enclosed a contribution of $5. We are always glad to make a change of address but this one was a special pleasure. Thanks a lot.

* * *

Abraham Siegel of **Long Beach, California**, sent in a one-year subscription for a friend and enclosed a contribution of $2 to help meet our printing costs. "Carry on comrades," he writes. "I'm getting too old to help." We appreciated this contribution very much from one of the old-timers in the socialist movement and original members of the Militant Army. And we don't agree with Comrade Siegel's estimate of his ability to help. The contents of his letter, we think, are proof enough that he's still in there pitching for socialism.

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TROTSKY

"For many, if not the majority of the oppressed nations, national groups and sections, the meaning of self-determination is the cancellation of the existing borders, and the dismemberment of present states. In particular, this democratic principle leads to the emancipation of the colonies. Yet the whole policy of imperialism, regardless of the national principle, aims at the extension of state borders, at the compulsory incorporation of weak states within the customs border, and the acquisition of new colonies. Imperialism is by its very nature both expansive and aggressive and it is this quality that characterizes imperialism, and not the changeable maneuvers of diplomacy."

— Leon Trotsky, "The Program of Peace." 1917.

LENIN

Liberals in Action

As readers of **The Militant** must be aware, we don't hold a very high opinion of the liberals. There are a few — and their numbers are growing fewer — whose integrity we respect at the same time that we oppose their program. But on the whole the liberals are decidedly unworthy of the support they have among large sections of the American population. Workers who follow their advice go astray 99 times out of 99.

Our first specimen this week is Anna M. Rosenberg, an all-out New Dealer and Fair Dealer recently nominated at General Marshall's suggestion as Assistant Secretary of State. Being a woman, a Jew and a liberal, she was naturally subjected to redbaiting charges and grilled by the Senate Armed Services Committee. An ex-Stalinist stoolie claimed that he had seen her at "communist-front" meetings in the 1930's, a charge which she denied with great indignation.

"Mrs. Rosenberg was trembling and choking in apparent anger when she emerged from the room," the **N.Y. Times** reports. She said: "It was the hardest ordeal I have ever gone through in my life. I didn't believe that anyone who has lived the way I have, who has worked the way I have, could be accused in such a way by a man who admits he was a Communist."

Spoken like a true liberal! She never opened her mouth once to protest the witch-hunt against other people, but she is indignant at becoming a victim of the redbaiting she was willing to tolerate as long as it didn't hit her directly. She didn't believe that it could happen here — or at least not to her. It's true that her education has now been advanced a little — the hard way. But why should any worker pay any heed to her political advice when out of her own mouth she has convicted herself of blindness and ignorance on a political matter of the first magnitude?

Our second specimen is Arthur Schlesinger Jr., a leader of Americans for Democratic Action. Writing in the Dec. 10 N. Y. **Post**, this theoretician of the liberals notes: "To his credit, Robert A. Taft opposed the use of the atomic bomb in China. That made it all the more strange to find Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois urging that it be used against the Chinese Communists." But Schlesinger doesn't explain this "strangeness" nor draw the conclusion that maybe he made a mistake in supporting the election of Douglas, also an ADA leader.

The reason becomes clear when we read further. "It seems to me," Schlesinger says, "that we cannot afford to take too intransigent a position on the use of the bomb. Our first obligation must be to assure the survival of the free world, and this must override our objections to particular weapons," etc., etc. So in the end it turns out that Schlesinger doesn't disagree in principle with Douglas' "strange" advocacy of using the A-Bomb against China; he just disagrees that the bomb should be dropped now — leaving open the question of whether or not he will be so "intransigent" in the future.

That is in keeping with the general role of the liberals too. When the bomb was used against the Japanese in 1945, they never voiced a mumbling protest. After the war, when the imperialists put on their atomic control-disarmament show, the liberals joined the chorus promising never to favor the dropping of the bomb first. And now, when the imperialists are softening up public opinion to accept use of the bomb, the liberals help along the process with their talk against "intransigence."

We leave aside entirely the question of whether the liberals act as judas-goats deliberately — the point we are driving at is that to follow them is to march to disaster.

War Aims of the Capitalists

Truman, Acheson and Co. cannot be expected to admit, as Woodrow Wilson did after World War I, that the wars of capitalist countries are fought for "commercial" interests. Whatever they may think about socialism, the overwhelming majority of the American people have no desire to sacrifice their youth and their money to protect the profits of Big Business, and they would never consent to militarization and ruinous taxation for a program with such an avowed aim.

But while Truman and Acheson go on spouting about "aggression" and "communist imperialism," the masters of industry are under no delusions and they speak frankly among themselves about their real objectives. An eye-opening example was the meeting of 300 financial executives at the Bankers Club on Dec. 7, where Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, was the main speaker.

Reed voiced the belligerence of American capitalism when he said, "if we cannot achieve avoidance of war without appeasement of the Munich type, I am for taking the masks off those babies and having it out with them, whether we are ready or whether we are not." But that was not the most important part of his speech; the political representatives of capitalism in Washington are not anxious to embark on total war until they are ready and reasonably sure of winning.

Reed also "stressed, that beneath the surface of the present diplomatic crisis lies the physical fact of a world whose natural resources are unevenly divided and a community of nations with economic systems incompatible with the American free-enterprise system." He was quoted as saying, "The United States must persuade other nations to function under economic systems compatible with ours, otherwise, what we are doing will not pay off, and we will have to be spending an enormous fraction of our output in defending ourselves against have-nots." (**N.Y. Times**, Dec. 8.)

That's the program of Big Business — to "persuade other nations to function under economic systems compatible with ours" (by armed force, where necessary) because only in this way can American capitalism hope to survive itself and to continue squeezing the economic lifeblood out of other less powerful countries. The sooner the American working people understand this truth, the sooner they will recognize that the interests of Big Business are "incompatible" with their own aspirations of peace and brotherhood between nations, and the sooner they will equip themselves with a program and a party of their own, able and willing to put a stop to the economic system of haves and have-nots and the war that this system breeds.

What Is This Thing Called National Unity?

By George Breitman

Some newspapers are printing explanations of the currently much-used terms "Munich" and "Dunkirk" for the benefit of the generation that was too young to know what was going on 10 or 12 years ago. We think it is even more profitable to explain another term that is being used with increasing frequency, "national unity," for the benefit not only of the youth but also of union members who let themselves be blinded during World War II (by the Stalinists, among others) to the lessons of the last big experience with national unity in this country.

President Truman, head of the Democratic Party, tells a $1,000-a-table Democratic banquet in New York that national unity is paramount and that their party will "seek no advantages in those fields that affect our national defense and our relations with other nations."

Governor Dewey, head of the Republican Party, is also for national unity, which he calls "a united front at home" and warns that the present "state of national emergency" is not the time "for further criticism" of the Truman administration.

Ira Mosher, former president of the National Association of Manufacturers and one of the chief spokesmen for Big Business, tells the NAM that national unity is needed now and calls for "a renewed effort on the part of labor, management and government to work together as never before."

Allan L. Swim, editor of the CIO News, prints an article saying national unity is essential and reproving the Democrats and Republicans for not getting together "on a war-foreign affairs program" and on a domestic program "which will make it possible — and necessary — for all segments of our population to share equally in the sacrifices that must be made."

ITS PURPOSE

What, then, is this magic thing called national unity that makes the donkey and the elephant rub noses and produces the promise of cohabitation between corporation executives and labor bureaucrats?

Stated most briefly, it is the fancy name, applied especially during war or "national emergency," for class collaboration and it is designed to persuade the working people to go along quietly with the plans of the ruling class, accepting whatever sacrifices the ruling class imposes on them.

It is easy to see why capitalist politicians and employers of all stripes should and do advocate and welcome national unity. It is right up their alley, being the kind of condition they would like to obtain all the time but which they know it is generally hopeless to strive for in periods of so-called peace, when workers are less inclined to be affected by flag-waving.

But if that is so, why should most of the labor leaders be joining, or even leading, the chorus for national unity? After all, the very union movement is based on the realities of the class struggle, which proceeds from the fact that labor and capital have different and not the same interests. And all of labor history demonstrates that the bosses start chiseling on the workers' living standards and working conditions the minute that the unions stop fighting to win gains for their members.

LABOR BUREAUCRATS

But most union leaders have an allegiance other and greater than the one they are supposed to have to labor, and that is to the capitalist system, which they think will last forever and which they regard as the best of all possible systems because of the soft jobs and privileges they have secured for themselves under it.

When capitalism is threatened — and it always is in periods of great crisis and instability, such as war — they rush to its defense, even though it means "subordinating" (that is, betraying) the interests of the workers who pay their salaries.

Besides, most union bureaucrats don't relish a fight with the employers at any time, and even in peace have to be pushed and pressured by the ranks before they will consent to strikes. Emergencies, war and national unity are to them fortunate opportunities to put the workers "in their place" and to get into the good graces of the employers.

Thus the conduct of the union leaders is not a refutation of the class struggle or a justification for class collaboration, but an added reason for replacing these leaders with other leaders who have no interests different from those of the rank and file and who have the backbone to defend those interests at all times and in all places.

RECENT EXPERIENCE

We don't have to depend on the theory of the class struggle alone to show what national unity means because we have the still fresh experience of World War II to draw on. That proved that national unity means enormous profits for Big Business, and wage-freezing for the workers. It means no limits on the growth of monopoly, and war to the hilt against workers who refuse to be bound by the no-strike pledges that union leaders signed (without any authority from their members) in return for small-change concessions like the maintenance-of-membership clause.

The demand for national unity has another purpose today, even before war has been declared. And that is to hogtie the workers so that they will be unable to intervene and put a stop to the conspiracy to drag this country into war.

Just let the workers give the impression they have been sold on the national unity song, and the politicians serving the interests of the employers will jump to tell them: "Now you must quit beefing, you must give up strikes, you must work longer hours, you must pay higher taxes, you must tighten your belts and, above all, you must not rock the boat by questioning the way we conduct foreign policy or by trying to alter that policy in any way."

For once the policy of national unity is imposed, anybody who does that will be denounced as unpatriotic and disloyal and become subject to all the penalties of all the repressive legislation ranging from the Espionage Act through the Smith Act to the McCarran-Kilgore Act.

KIND OF UNITY NEEDED

National unity is a chain that no militant worker should voluntarily let himself be bound with. If the interests of labor and capital are opposite in peacetime, then they are opposite in wartime too, when the capitalist not only sweats workers more but sends them off to die in imperialist adventures abroad. The only kind of unity that is in the interests of working people is labor unity, on an international as well as a national basis, against the exploiters and oppressors of all countries.

PARLEY DIDN'T SETTLE U.S.-EUROPE DISPUTE

(Continued from Page 1)

accepted a cynical compromise. Truman again expressed the "hope that world conditions would never call" for its use and promised that the British government would be informed prior to the dropping of the A-Bomb.

Attlee has sought to minimize the existing differences as a mere "difference of emphasis." On the other hand, the cry of "appeasement" has been raised by the section of the Republican party who back the China lobby and MacArthur, and by the Hearst, Scripps-Howard and McCormick-Patterson newspaper chains.

It would be a mistake to dismiss these differences, as they have found their reflection in the distorted mirrors of secret diplomacy, as nothing more than maneuvers between two imperialist sides jockeying for position, or as something that may be easily resolved. Both sides are maneuvering, to be sure, but what now divides the American ruling circles from their West European colleagues, particularly the British, has its roots in the world crisis of capitalism, laid bare and aggravated by the explosion of the China-Korea crisis.

WHAT WORRIES ATTLEE

The insolvent West Europeans, led by Britain, are compelled by their precarious position in the Far East to recognize the new position, power and international role of Peiping and to seek a compromise with it. The British see no other way of retaining and safeguarding their interests in Asia (Hong Kong, Malaya); so, too, the French who have Indo-China at stake; and also the Dutch, with regard to New Guinea and the remains of their Indonesian empire, etc.

Aside from all other considerations, European capitalism will choke to death economically if stripped of its remaining Asian markets, sources of raw materials and super-profits. Such losses cannot possibly be made up by "aid" from American imperialism, all the less so since this aid will henceforth be diverted more and more into military channels.

As against this, an important section of the American ruling circles, personified by Gen. MacArthur, blindly, almost maniacally, refuse to accept the emergence of a new world power — that of revolutionary China amid the eruption of an even greater power, namely, the revolution now sweeping over all of Asia.

Under the best of circumstances, such a development would have precipitated a gravest crisis of world imperialism. But on top of it, the American bourgeoisie, in full career of its "cold war," has been caught entirely unprepared. All their previous calculations have been knocked into a cocked hat. They must hastily make new ones and adjust themselves to an unforeseen situation.

Lacking experience and traditions of world leadership and power, the soberest and coolest among them are only just beginning to orient themselves to a new world correlation of forces and grope toward possible solutions, most of these highly distasteful to them, to say the least.

PUBLIC DEBATE

In the responsible capitalist press a public debate is now in effect taking place, with many prominent spokesmen virtually thinking out loud about just what has happened, "how we went wrong" in Korea, what to do next, and so on.

The only ones who refuse to recognize the "new situation" at all are those of the old "China-hand" school. They are the ones who keep howling how more important Formosa is than all West European possessions in Asia put together; how there must be no retreating before "aggressors" in Asia, no rewarding of Mao, and so on. And this leather-lunged and dunderheaded mob gets more than a hearing in Washington!

This division among America's ruling summits renders still more difficult a suitable compromise on foreign policy with the Atlantic allies, not to mention Mao. In fact the Truman-Attlee talks settled exactly nothing, solutions on every single burning issue being simply postponed. The clash of interests between the West European and American capitalists has not been reconciled, nor the rift between them bridged.

MASS PRESSURE

Another, and by far the most far-reaching, new factor in the unfolding world crisis also left its indelible imprint on the Truman-Attlee talks. It is the pressure of the masses in Europe and the need of the native rulers on the old continent to conciliate them that really bestirred the European capitalists and propelled Attlee across the Atlantic. Reinforcing the growing anti-war moods of the war-weary Europeans are the masses in India, Japan and throughout the world.

The European imperialists, the old ruling classes in Asian countries must take these mass moods and the rising tide of opposition into account. Hence their combined pressure on Washington for a compromise in Asia.

But the overriding fact is that the mass of the world peoples are now reentering the political arena, gradually and partially as yet to be sure, but reentering it nonetheless. They are beginning to make their will felt, their needs reckoned with, their desires taken into account. This has not happened for many a year.

The importance of this mass resurgence cannot be exaggerated. In the gathered and growing strength of this mass tide of opposition lies the hope and salvation of mankind.

'LIMITED WAR' ON CHINA-- AN UNLIMITED CALAMITY

By George Lavan

The irresponsible capitalist class of the U.S., refusing to learn from the disaster in Korea, is now considering a move that could lead to a world catastrophe. That move is a "limited war" against China. One of the main points of disagreement in the Truman-Attlee conferences was exactly this point. Attlee and the European politicians, who from the beginning of "police action" in Korea have tried to restrain Washington's breakneck pace down the road to ruin, have thus far balked at the insistence of Truman, Acheson and the Pentagon on a "limited war." The N.Y. Times on Dec. 8 reports the reactions of European leaders as follows: "But now that they find Washington continuing to back a bold policy of 'limited war' against Communist China, they are worried and even slightly rebellious."

In face of this opposition an economic blockade of China was launched under Commerce Department orders. All American export licenses to China were "indefinitely suspended" on Dec. 9, along with the cancellation of all outstanding licenses to trade with the British port of Hong Kong and Portuguese-held Macao. "Not even a safety pin" will now get through the embargo, boasted a department spokesman. Economic "sanctions" have usually served as a prelude to military acts.

Hanson Baldwin, Times military expert with close connections in the Pentagon, ardently advocates "limited war." What is "limited war"? Its kernel is contained in Baldwin's Point 1 for such a war: "Bomb and blockade Red China. . . unsettling and wearing down the Red strength. . . " The strategic conception of these military men is that the U.S. can fight China without fighting the Chinese armies; that without fear of retaliation the navy and air force will be able to pound away at the Chinese coast and mainland.

A blockade of the coast could undoubtedly succeed, though there would be losses to the blockaders. The North Koreans originated the strategem of floating mines down rivers to the sea where they sank several U.S. naval vessels. This would undoubtedly be done on a much wider scale by the Chinese. Then the Chinese air force — which has not been committed in the Korean fighting — would take a certain toll despite U.S. air superiority.

But a coastal blockade would not shut China off from land supply from the Soviet Union or India. Attempts to force India to embargo China might — given the reported sympathy of the Indian people for the North Koreans and Chinese — drive India into a closer alliance with China.

The heart of a "limited war" would be the bombing of Chinese cities. In the beginning this might possibly be confined to ordinary (i.e., non-atomic) bombings. U.S. bombers could unquestionably rain death and ruin on China. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese — mostly civilians, women and children — would be blown apart or burned to death. But the Chinese armies would be left intact. All Chinese, even those not now supporting the Mao regime, would cherish an unquenchable hatred of those responsible for such mass murders. The Japanese imperialists followed such a policy of blasting and bombing for 15 years in their war on China, and reaped disaster.

Chinese industry is small scale and scattered. There is no concentration of industry, whose destruction would knock out Chinese production. A valuable lesson on the ineffectiveness of mass bombing was provided during the "Battle of Britain." The Germans failed to destroy either British industry or morale. And Britain covers a comparatively small area with heavy concentrations of industry.

While the U.S. tried to confine the war to air and naval actions, the Chinese would press for land battles. Hong Kong and Malaya would be quickly taken. Reinforcements sent to the Viet Minh fighters would help them drive the French imperialists from Indo-China. Nor is it excluded that just as military experts were stunned by Chinese successes in bringing up troops and supplies by primitive methods, so naval experts might even be surprised by Chinese invasions of Formosa (an overnight voyage from the mainland) and Japan (an overnight voyage from Korea) by thousands of motorized junks and other small craft. Started as a "limited war" the irretrievable course of the struggle would sooner or later bring land warfare and therefore all-out war.

After the failure of the "calculated risk" in Korea the rulers of the U.S. are calculating a far bigger risk. They assume either that the Soviet Union would stand by idly while the U.S. waged air and naval war on its ally or that the Kremlin would not supply China with bomber and fighter planes, anti-aircraft artillery, rockets, submarines and, if Washington used it, the atom bomb.

The madmen in Washington, now so taken with the project of a "limited war," contemplate using the lives of the American people as chips. Possible atomic destruction of civilization is their jackpot.

TRUTH ABOUT RHEE REGIME, KOREA CIVIL WAR SEEPS OUT

By Fred Hart

Little by little the truth about the war in Korea and its real character is coming to the surface. For one thing, the Syngman Rhee regime is now stripped naked. **The Militant** has been reporting that this corrupt and utterly bankrupt clique had no popular support in the country whatever. Now comes proof that Rhee can't even depend on his own "legally constituted" National Assembly.

On four different days early this month, as the Associated Press cabled from Seoul, this body failed "to raise a quorum to ratify President Syngman Rhee's decree of martial law. Transportation difficulties were blamed." By Dec. 10 all the miserable subterfuges had to be dropped and Reuters reported that "panic-striken Deputies fled southward and left the National Assembly without a quorum."

Let us next take the news accounts of "thousands of refugees." Of course, thousands are fleeing, with whoever is fearful of being caught in a crossfire seeking to escape. Yes, there is no lack of refugees. But who is in the forefront of the fleeing? Who is actually able to get to safety?

"The truck convoys, for the most part, carried the wealthy," reports UP correspondent Peter Kalischer. "The price for a seat in dilapidated vehicles rose to 1,250,000 won — about $350." And Charles Gruntzer of the **N. Y. Times** was struck by the bitter resentment in Seoul over "reports that some officials already are sending off their families and effects while the government seeks to allay public fear."

We need only recall that while thousands of functionaries and the rich may flee, for the bulk of the populace, the millions, there are neither passports, transport nor the means. They must stay behind, come what may.

Finally, Gruntzer relates a most revealing discussion he had with a "Korean serving with a U.S. Army outfit." This soldier "patted his carbine" and told him:

"I would just like to see the car of one of the Cabinet ministers going south with his family and things. I would shoot their tires full of holes and let them walk. They tricked us last June by running away and leaving us behind. They better not try it again."

If that is how bitterly the most reliable armed supporters of Rhee's regime think and feel, it does not take the seventh son of a prophet to understand how hated this regime is by the Korean people as a whole.

Ellenton -- Preview of All U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

to work at, or the place where he will work at it.

Not only mass living standards, but habits, customs, even morals, will feel the shattering impact of militarization. Freedom of speech will be tolerated only up to the point where its exercise may be directed against the garrison state. The lives of all of us will be uprooted and the routines to which we have become accustomed will be scattered like leaves in a storm.

All this will take place, to use General Marshall's expression at the NAM conference on Dec. 8, "against the background that the best we can hope for in the immediate years ahead in a prolonged tension." If drab servitude under the iron heel is the "best" prospect that capitalism can now offer to the American people — and it is — then contemplation of the worst prospects becomes genuinely painful.

But the bureaucrats in Washington are really mad if they think that the American people are going to submit without resistance to the destruction of their living standards, political liberties and aspirations for a free, fruitful and peaceful life.

The undertone of bitterness and resentment on the sign in Ellenton will swell louder and louder on a nation-wide scale as the workers begin to perceive that they are being led to disaster just as surely as their sons and brothers in uniform were led in Korea.

Not only on the Yalu River, not only in the working class districts of Paris, but right here in the United States, sentiment will grow to halt the "undeclared war" that is already in progress, to stop the "limited war" that is now being discussed in the State Department and the Pentagon, to take away from the corrupt politicians, generals and diplomats the power to drag us into any kind of war in the future.

The garrison state is coming — but not if the people act to prevent it. Everybody who prizes freedom will get into the fight to prevent it now.

Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials

By Leon Trotsky

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THE MILITANT

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Political Bluenoses

By John F. Petrone

We Americans are justly proud of our democratic traditions of resistance to tyranny, our revolutionary war for independence, the Bill of Rights, the civil war against slavery — yes, even of the way we flouted the Prohibition Act which sought to interfere with our drinking habits. Practically all the men and women Americans honor as national heroes were associated in one way or another with these struggles to obtain and maintain our civil liberties.

How much longer, then, are we going to submit to the witch-hunt, which undermines our political liberties, limits our rights to select union leaders of our own choice, deprives us of our jobs for "associating" with people whom bureaucrats in Washington don't like, sets Nazi-like standards to determine who can teach our children, and even tries to restrict the kind of movies we can see?

The bluenose became the object of universal derision and aversion because he set himself up as the arbiter of what we could drink. But he is no more hateful and no more dangerous than the political bluenoses, usually wearing veterans caps and always waving the American flag, who have the audacity to dictate what actress shall be barred from the radio and what comedian shall be kept off the TV screen. There is something incongruous about the way so many of us continue to revere the memory of Tom Paine and John Brown while tolerating, in the spirit of Caspar Milquetoast, the most brazen depredations of the self-appointed censors and jingoes now running wild in the apparent belief that it is their god-given right to apply the gag to the mouths, eyes, ears and minds of the rest of the American people.

These thoughts are prompted by the outrageous incident last week when a character named Joseph R. Fehrenback, commander of the Hudson County (N. J.) department of the fascist hoodlums known as the Catholic War Veterans and advertising production manager for the American Bankers Association, demanded that TV Station WPIX cancel a weekly series of Charlie Chaplin movie shorts produced in 1916-17. Fehrenback made the demand on the ground that the California Un-American Activities Committee had listed Chaplin among people who allegedly "followed or appeased the Communist Party line program over a long period of time." Such a man, he insisted, should not be held up "as an idol to the American public." And, like Hitler and Stalin, he laid down the law that "Entertainment for art's sake just does not exist when you talk about communism."

Station WPIX is owned by the N. Y. Daily News, the paper with the country's largest circulation. We don't know what its managers thought; maybe, paraphrasing Cassius, they wondered, "Upon what meat doth this our Fehrenback feed, that he is grown so great?" (The answer to that, of course, is that the Fehrenbacks feed among other things on the redbaiting meat of the capitalist press, including the Daily News.) Anyhow, whatever they thought, they bent their knee at Fehrenback's command with a speed and an obsequiousness that no royal courtier could excel, and within a few hours the Chaplin program was cancelled. Anybody who thinks the lords of the capitalist press can be relied on to resist the drive toward a police state is advised to ponder over this incident.

How much longer, we repeat, are the American people going to put up with this kind of thing? How much longer are they going to let themselves be pushed around by two-bit political fuehrers and cultural commissars acting in the interests of Big Business? Their chief target is not Charlie Chaplin and his 34-year old movie shorts, but the liberties of the American people. Permitting them to decide what we can see is only a step away from permitting them to decide what we can say and think. George Orwell's essay on Gulliver's Travels reminds us that the author of that satire, referring to 17th Century England, said "the Bulk of the People consist, in a Manner, wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers, Accusers, Prosecutors, Evidences, Swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern Instruments, all under the Colours, the Conduct, and Pay of Ministers of State." That's what the Fehrenbacks want to make of the United States. And that's what they will succeed in doing if the people don't organize their resistance soon.

Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Boom!

By Frank Poole

Scene: a factory during lunch time.

"Scissorbill" Sam: You look down in the dumps, Joe. What's biting you?

Joe: All this war talk. My boy just turned 18. Then I worry about the wife and little kids. This city would be a sure target for an atom bomb.

Sam: Now don't you worry yourself about that atom bomb. Didn't you read what Truman said? It can't be used till he, personally, gives the order.

Joe: Yeah, but he's only human. What if he messes up like that going into Korea? Besides, I'm beginning to think he's kind of hot-headed. Did you read about the letter he wrote the music critic who didn't like Margaret's singing?

Sam: Sure I read that and I admire him for it. It shows he ain't one of these namby-pambies, but a regular feller, just like you or me or one of the boys down at the pool room. Now a country gentleman like Roosevelt — he talked about the common man a lot, but he never knew how to talk like one. Roosevelt wouldn't have said the review was "lousy" like you or me or Truman. He'd have said it was "beastly" or "vitooperative" or some other pussy-footing thing.

Joe: Has she got a good voice, I wonder?

Sam: What's that got to do with it? She's the president's daughter, ain't she? How would you feel if some dirty music critic came along and insulted your daughter? No, sir! This is a red-blooded country and we got a red-blooded president. But did you ever hear of a red-blooded music critic? No, and you never will. Like Harry told that panty-waist he'll need a new nose and plenty of beafsteak and maybe a supporter for you know what if they ever meet.

Joe: That's pretty rough talk for a president.

Sam: Sure, that shows how great a democracy we got here. You'd never find anything like this happening in Russia. But Harry, he's one of the boys, he learned about brawling from the Pendergast boys in Kansas City and they weren't sissies. You can see he knows how to give the boots to someone. That's what I like about Harry. He ain't let being president go to his head. No fake dignity about him. He hit the jackpot but he ain't let it change him. No, sir! Just one of the boys. I know him inside out. I was in politics once myself — a long time ago in the 8th Ward. But I had to quit because of a weak stomach and trouble about some ballot boxes. But I learned the score. Politics is rough business and you gotta slug your way to the top. And anyone who deep down won't admit he's in it for the jobs or the graft is a liar or a red.

Joe: But what if those Chinese start insulting his daughter's singing?

Sam: You mean he might get sore and drop the atom bomb? Personally, I don't think so. But then, he is a mighty proud father. And them dumb Chinese probably couldn't appreciate Margaret's singing if they tried. Did you ever hear any Chinese music? It's nuts. I bet that music critic is a Commie. Trying to stir up dissension, that's what. Harry's probably put the FBI on him already. Just wait, I'll give you odds they find out he praised Paul Robeson and that bunch of furriners who come over to sing in the opera.

Joe: I got a hunch that Truman was riled up over those conferences with Attlee and took it out on this music critic. You know he had to be polite all that time and the British wanting out of the Korean war.

Sam: You got something there. It must have been aggravating to argue with them dumb Limeys. Criticizing MacArthur! It makes my blood boil. When did they ever produce a military genius like our Mac? Well, I gotta go now. I want to get back to my post early. There's a little favor I want to do for the foreman.

Short Subjects

The 7th biennial convention of the CIO Transport Workers Union, headed by Michael Quill, condemned the $62,000,000 loan to Franco Spain because "It will not be used to improve the conditions of the oppressed people of Spain; it will be used to reinforce a cruel dictatorship which has suppressed the labor unions as well as free speech, free thought, free press and free assembly." That's the plain truth. But don't Truman and the Democrats know that? Of course they do — that's why they made the loan available to Franco. Then why do Quill and the other CIO leaders continue to endorse the Democrats who "reinforce a cruel dictatorship"? Along with their other resolutions we'd like to see them adopt one on that question.

* * *

The NAACP has asked the government to set up appropriate safeguards against segregation and discrimination at the proposed H-Bomb installations in South Carolina. It wants the government to act now, "while this matter is still in the blue print stage," to insure "that the racial patterns of the State of South Carolina will not be imposed in the territory which is used for the production of the H-Bomb." The NAACP made similar requests regarding all previous atomic installations, but at all of them — in the Southwest, in Tennesse and in the Northwest — it says "we have seen extensive discrimination based on race . . . disgusting segregation in housing, denial of job opportunities and a denial of the use of various facilities." Apparently it isn't enough to just ask the government to end Jim Crow practices.

* * *

Douglas M. Black, president of Doubleday and Co., the book publishers, reveals that his company "has recently been the subject of attack for having published three books" — Scottsboro Boy by Haywood Patterson, one of the victims in that infamous frame-up; The Year of the Oath by George R. Stewart, a report on the fight for academic freedom at the University of California; and Worlds in Collision by Immanuel Velikovsky. Black calls the attack on these books — "from organized pressure groups, from self-appointed censors, from sincere but confused individuals who feel that their own point of view is the only correct one" — an attack on freedom of the press, which must be "fought for continuously." He says "the strength of democracy in America will continue only so long as minority or the so-called 'unpopular' viewpoints are allowed a voice."

* * *

Officials of the American Medical Association, meeting in Cleveland last week, made the astonishing claim that there is no real shortage of physicians in the U. S. today, that medical schools are training enough young men and that the only problem lies in "distribution" of available doctors. For sheer falsehood this certainly ranks with the lies of the medical bureaucrats about socialized medicine. An article in Collier's, published the same week, shows that in 1910 medical schools graduated 4,400 students — one new doctor for every 20,000 of the population; 5,097 students in 1940 — one new doctor for every 26,000 Americans; 5,553 students in 1950 — one new doctor for every 27,000 people. Today there is approximately one doctor for every 800 persons in the U. S. No matter how you'd distribute them, that's still a criminal shortage, due above all to the AMA's campaign to restrict the number of doctors.

* * *

Goodbye to slum clearance and housing programs. They will be cut back "almost to elimination." And goodbye to most hospital, airport and highway construction. Federal grants to these will be "reduced drastically." That's what Elmer B. Staats, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of the Budget, told a meeting of state government officials in Chicago last week. The budget Truman will submit to the new Congress will make this new policy official next month, but it is being carried out right now just the same. The reason, of course, is that the government can't afford both bombs and homes, both battleships and hospitals. How long will the American people be able to afford such a government?

* * *

Attempts to pressure 10,000 railway yard men to go back to work on the grounds that their strike endangered U.S. soldiers in Korea brought the reply from the strikers: "We have sons in Korea, too."

Harlem Roused By Police Murder Of Negro Veteran

By J. Blake

NEW YORK, Dec. 12 — The brutal murder last Thursday of John Derrick, 24-year-old Negro veteran, by two trigger-happy cops has resulted in a widespread demand here for an investigation and action to stop police brutality by cleaning out and prosecuting guilty members of the notoriously racket- and graft-ridden Police Department.

The New York Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the New York Amsterdam News and other Harlem organizations have demanded a complete hearing on the charge that Patrolmen Louis Palumbo and Basil Minnakotis shot and killed the unarmed Derrick, then planted an empty gun on his person in an attempt to cover up the enormity of their crime.

The young veteran was released from the Army with a medical discharge last Wednesday after serving seven years. He had returned from overseas duty in Germany in August, and lost an eye as a result of an injury while on duty.

Last Wednesday morning, released at Fort Dix, he went to Harlem with Pvt. Oscar Farley to celebrate. They were joined in a local bar by a friend, Zack Milline.

COLD BLOODED KILLING

Later, as they were walking toward Milline's home, where they were going to spend the night, a police car pulled up. Farley's account of what happened, according to the Amsterdam News, was as follows:

As the squad car stopped, one of the cops ordered "hands up" and the one sitting in the right front seat fired his revolver simultaneously. The other rushed out and also shot Derrick.

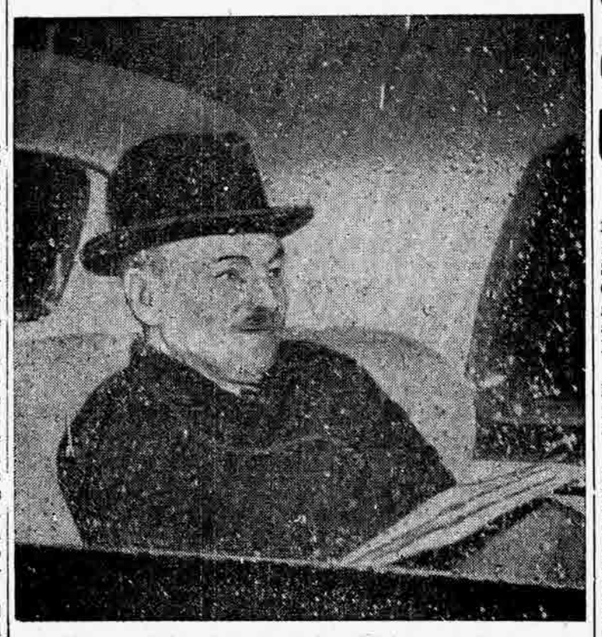
Another squad car arrived and took Farley and Milline to the police station. Officer Palumbo later told Farley to say he had seen a gun under Derrick, but Farley refused, since he had not seen a gun on Derrick then or at any other time that day.

Other eyewitnesses of the killing also are reportedly prepared to testify that, contrary, to the police report, Derrick did not draw a gun. His companions and other witnesses have already stated that he was not intoxicated. No one has vouched for the condition of the police.

Public indignation has reached such proportions that even recently elected Councilman Earl Brown has agreed to investigate the case.

However, the pattern of police murder and brutality against Negroes, frame-up of the victims, and official whitewash of the uniformed criminals is a familiar one throughout the nation. Only a militant mass protest movement of Negro and other minorities, allied with the labor movement and organized to see the fight through, will bring the murderers of John Derrick to justice.

Agreed to Disagree



Clement Attlee, Laborite Prime Minister of England, is shown after leaving one of the six conferences he held with President Truman on the international crisis. In effect, the conferees agreed they would continue to disagree on a number of questions, including Formosa, and admission of the Mao government to the UN.

Maritime Unionism Is Being Crushed by Militarization

By R. Bell

Thanks to the treacherous connivance of the maritime union officials, American seamen are today being tightly laced in a straitjacket of military control, designed to convert them into obedient and docile robots completely subservient to the command of the officer-hirelings in the employ of the ship operators.

Last July, immediately following U.S. intervention in Korea, officials of various maritime unions journeyed to Washington to volunteer their services in the war against "communism." They entered into a "voluntary" agreement with representatives of the shipowners and government to collaborate in screening "bad security risks" from ships of the American merchant marine.

Designated to conduct the purge was the hated Coast Guard, long recognized and fought as the bitter foe of union seamen. To take the curse off the sell-out it was announced that a tripartite appeals board would be set up consisting of representatives of the union, shipowners and government.

Given the green light by the union bureaucrats, Coast Guard screening teams boarded the ships and combed the crew for "subversives." Crew members were summarily discharged and blacklisted. They were kept ignorant of the nature of the charges against them. They had no opportunity of confronting their accusers. They were even denied the right to face the screening teams, which operated in secret behind closed doors. They had only the right to appeal — to the Coast Guard Commandant in Washington!

WHAT THEY EXPECTED

The labor skates expected to gain certain advantages from their toadying capitulation to the shipowners' government in Washington. They wanted government aid in their planned raids on Stalinist-influenced maritime unions and government blacklisting of their internal union opposition. But they reckoned without their host.

The brass hats were not averse to using the "loyal" union officials as strikebreakers against other unions. Nor did they have any compunction about blacklisting union militants fingered by the officials. But they have their own standards of judgment which give greater weight to the blacklists compiled by the shipowners and their own Gestapo-like agencies.

CIO National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran berated the Coast Guard for "inefficiency." Of the 200 names on "his" list, he complained, only 25 had been screened by the brass hats. And what was worse, some of those screened were loyal supporters of the Curran administration. The same thing happened to Lundeberg of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific, Hall of the Seafarers International Union, Malone of the Marine Firemen, etc.

WHAT THEY GOT

Having rushed through the opening provided by the labor lackeys, the Coast Guard hastened to tighten its grip on the seagoing personnel and widen its control to include all waterfront workers. Under the prodding of the admirals the Waterfront Security Act, sponsored by Senator Magnuson, another highly touted "friend of labor," was jammed through Congress. The Act empowers the President to establish supervision and control over all waterfront workers.

Under the Magnuson Act, President Truman on Oct. 18 issued a sweeping executive order establishing the Coast Guard in full control of the American merchant marine. Under Coast Guard regulations recently issued, every waterfront worker is to be screened and is to be denied access to any dock or ship unless in the possession of "validated" Coast Guard papers.

According to the regulations, papers can be denied any person **if the Coast Guard Commandant "is satisfied that the character and habits of life of such person are such as to authorize the belief that the presence of the individual on board (ship) would be inimical to the security of the United States."**

This sweeping formula for a government blacklist establishes the brass hats in control of the personnel and undermines the union hiring hall. The far-reaching effects of the Coast Guard stranglehold on the unions in the maritime industry will be discussed next week.

KARL KUEHN DIES; WAS ONE OF MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL VICTIMS

(Continued from page 1)

ers, all knew that here was an incorruptible man, single-purposed, tireless, and satisfied only when the interests of the workers were served.

Along with 150 men and women of the Federal Workers Section in Minneapolis, Karl was indicted for "conspiracy against the government" in the 1939 WPA strike. As a result of the labor movement's intervention, this case never came to trial.

SENT TO PRISON

In 1941, however, the capitalist class achieved its revenge. Along with 17 other leaders of the General Drivers Union and the Socialist Workers Party, he was railroaded to prison in the famous Minneapolis trial for opposing the war policies of American imperialism.

Karl served his term in the Danbury Federal Penitentiary. But instead of breaking his will, his experiences in prison served only to reinforce the convictions he had gained in the labor movement, to strengthen his determination to do his part in the struggle for socialism.

After his release from prison, Karl had to leave Minneapolis to find work. The last eight years of his life were spent in Philadelphia, where he helped mobilize the forces for the local branch of the SWP. The same traits distinguished him here. His capacity for work was boundless. Few younger comrades could keep pace with him.

At an age when lesser men seek retirement in family life or the role of elder statesmen, Karl continued to throw himself into all phases of party activity. Whether it was cutting a stencil, or decorating the headquarters, or educating new workers, or participating in the mass movement, he gave his best. In addition to his work in the SWP, he was an active member of Local 103, IUE-CIO, and of the NAACP.

THE FINEST PATTERN

Karl Kuehn was of the granite from which Bolsheviks are made. He was cut from the same pattern as Oscar Coover, the first of the 18 Minneapolis defendants to succumb to the hardships of life. He died as he lived — firm in the conviction that the American workers would fulfill their historic mission and lead this country in building a socialist society, where men and women would give free bent to their talents and live in peace and prosperity.

It is with sorrow that we bid farewell to our comrade. Karl's life was not lived in vain. The party which he helped build will carry on to erect a fitting monument for him and others who have fallen in the line of duty — the future socialist world.

Gordy Defense Committee Set Up in Detroit

DETROIT, Dec. 10 — Despite silence and reluctance from Detroit's Negro and labor leaders, pressure from aroused Negroes is mobilizing support for Charles Gordy Sr., member of UAW Ford Local 600, now being held on first degree murder charges for shooting a cop while defending himself and his home against illegal attack.

A Gordy Defense Committee has been formed on which prominent attorneys and Negro ministers are already serving.

Willis Ward, former assistant prosecuting attorney, has denounced the police for unjustifiable entry into Gordy's home and commended his action against them. Meanwhile, the NAACP, which at first washed its hands entirely of this outrageous case of police brutality, is reportedly drawing up a petition demanding redress for the tenants in the dwelling that had been riddled by bullets, tear-gassed and looted.

Horace White, prominent Negro minister, who when the police invaded Gordy's home, found time only to denounce "communists" allegedly seeking to provoke a race riot, is now demanding that Mayor Cobo make restitution to Gordy's neighbors for damage incurred and property destroyed. While the actions of Reverend White and the NAACP are far from an open defense of Gordy, they are nevertheless a step in the right direction.

UNION MOVEMENT TOO

The labor movement, too, shows signs of awakening. William Billings, FEPC chairman of UAW Local 22, has denounced the police for its policy of brutality, intimidation and name-calling in dealing with Negroes.

The Negro press is virtually unanimous in the judgment that Gordy's case symbolizes the existing race tension. How else could anyone view an invasion of a man's home without a warrant, as Gordy's was invaded; manacling, kicking and otherwise manhandling the Gordy boy, and then opening fire on the father?

The father, harassed by years of persecution, so well described by the Negro press, fought back. As he puts it, he "got a mad on." Hence the shooting.

The Pittsburgh Courier correctly emphasizes that here we have one of the outcomes "of continuous frustration we meet in nearly every phase of city life, from the Mayor who insists upon fostering and furthering the principle of the ghetto in public housing, to the fire department which will not use Negro manpower, to the Board of Education whose superintendent openly endorses racially discriminatory policies, to the Interracial Committee whose function has been reduced almost to nothingness and which now dares hope for no more than to maintain a shaky status quo in the city's relations."

To counteract the anger and resentment against the police department because of its hate-Negro policy, Prosecuting Attorney Gerald K. O'Brien appointed a Negro, William T. Patrick Jr., as his Assistant. That is the only answer the city fathers could find for the racial tension they themselves promote.

The Gordy Defense Committee is going ahead, **contacting churches, labor unions, fraternal organizations for support and assistance. Donations have started coming in from prominent figures and organizations, although the committee's work has actually just started.**

The capitalist press here is, of course, suppressing Gordy's side of the case and publicizing only the prosecution's side. Obviously therefore, the defense committee's task must be not only to raise funds but to arouse the Negro and white workers to assist Gordy.

An avalanche of protest must come from an aroused community against a strikebreaking, terroristic police Dep't. Every church, fraternal organization and labor union must be awakened to protest against the outrage perpetrated on Gordy and the Negro people.

MICHIGAN AUTO WORKERS FACE SUDDEN LAY-OFFS

By Dave Lands

DETROIT, Dec. 8 — Over Michigan hangs the threat of mass layoffs and unemployment. John S. Bugas, Ford spokesman, estimated that as many as 42,000 Ford workers might be laid off by next March. This is only one of many such official and semi-official forecasts.

The dailies here feature articles and carry headlines predicting layoffs by the thousands sometime after New Year. One example is an article by Leo Donovan, Free Press automotive writer: "Auto Industry Faces Job Crises," he wrote on Dec. 4. "Cutbacks and change-over to war orders present bleak picture. Thousands of skilled workers may be jobless in the months to come. But how many thousands and for how long no one can predict with dead certainty."

Already thousands of Ford workers have received indefinite layoffs. In addition, last month, 50,000 received layoffs on a staggered 5-day basis. Ford's alibi is an alleged "slow-down" in his own rolling mills.

Ford is taking advantage of a curtailment of the auto market to put pressure on the Ford workers to end a series of struggles. Chief among them is the effort of the rolling mill employees to regain premium pay for Saturdays and Sundays. Overtime rates have been lost as a result of cowardly policies of the union administration and an umpire's ruling.

Behind the layoff-threat is credit curtailment and a recent government order cutting aluminum 35% and copper 15%, both essential to auto production. A. H. Raskin of the N. Y. Times has stated: "Key (Washington) officials acknowledged that unemployment would be widespread in the first quarter of 1951, and that no amount of planning was likely to abate it before spring."

A Times survey concludes that "an orderly change-over" to war production "is much harder to develop" today than in the case of World War II.

Michigan workers are already getting a taste of things to come. Their first Christmas present is widespread change-over layoffs or curtailed hours. How long this will last, corporation officials refuse to say. Unemployment compensation waiting periods and subsistence checks spell out a cheerless Christmas and New Year's for the auto workers — particularly with the threat of indefinite layoffs in the offing. More and more workers are saying, **"War or peace, this system is sure hell!"**

Walter Reuther, UAW-CIO president, has come to the fore to paint a dismal picture of "dislocation, mass unemployment, and economic chaos." But like the rest of the union leaders he offers no solution for the workers. They keep scolding the rank and file, while continuing to draw their own fat pay checks and expense allowances and resisting any program of struggle. Their main demand on Washington is "fair play" and representation on the many administration boards. The only action they propose to the union rank and file is to send postal cards to congressmen.

NEED MASS PRESSURE

The only pressure that will wring anything from the monopolists and their political agents in Washington is mass pressure geared to a militant program. Such a program must call for trade union wages for all unemployed workers. The rank and file of the unions must demand of their officials that they organize giant mass demonstrations, backing these up with nation-wide publicity.

The government is underwriting all the expenses and losses of the corporations in their change-over to war production. Corporate profits are fantastically high. It is high time the workers who produced these profits got a share of them in their hour of need. It is high time they demanded and got equal treatment from the government.